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TO ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE
SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 419544

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SUBJECT: U.S. POLICY ON RECOGNITION OF FORMER SOVIET
REPUBLICS: PRESS GUIDANCE

ROME PASS VATICAN FOR HOLY SEE

¶1. SUMMARY. THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED USG POLICY ON RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25. FOLLOWING IS PRESS GUIDANCE THAT ADDRESSEES MAY USE WITH LOCAL PRESS AND OTHER CONTACTS. PARA 2 IS GENERAL GUIDANCE IN Q-AND-A FORMAT; PARA 3 IS THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S DECEMBER 25 STATEMENT, AND PARA 4 IS THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S FAREWELL STATEMENT TO FORMER USSR PRESIDENT MIKHAIL GORBACHEV. END SUMMARY.

¶2. BEGIN TEXT OF Q-AND-A.

RECOGNITION POLICY

Q: HOW DO THE SIX REPUBLICS WITH WHICH THE PRESIDENT DID NOT ANNOUNCE HIS INTENTION TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ATTAIN SUCH RELATIONS?

A: WE HAVE RECOGNIZED ALL TWELVE OF THE FORMER REPUBLICS AS INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATES.

THE OVERALL PLAN ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT IS THAT OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW WILL REMAIN THERE AS OUR EMBASSY TO RUSSIA, AND OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN KIEV WILL BECOME OUR EMBASSY TO UKRAINE. WE WILL MOVE QUICKLY TO ESTABLISH FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ARMENIA, KAZAKHSTAN, BYELARUS, AND KYRGYZSTAN.

, CONCERNING THE OTHER SIX REPUBLICS:

-- WE WANT TO BE ASSURED OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES ADVANCED BY SECRETARY BAKER. WE WILL ACTIVELY BE SEEKING THAT ASSURANCE.

-- THE MEASURES BY WHICH WE WILL BE DECIDING FUTURE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ARE THOSE YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH: SECRETARY BAKER'S FIVE PRINCIPLES AND THE NEW STATES' IMPLEMENTATION OF RESPONSIBLE POLICIES ON KEY MILITARY AND SECURITY ISSUES AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL AND ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS.

-- OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS WE HAVE HAD OFFICIAL CONTACTS WITH ALL OF THESE GOVERNMENTS. THESE CONTACTS WILL CONTINUE.

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO ENGAGE ALL OF THE REPUBLICS ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN, INCLUDING DISCUSSIONS OF THEIR PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC REFORMS.

-- WE LOOK FORWARD TO BEING ABLE TO CONDUCT FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ALL OF THE REPUBLICS.

Q: WHEN WILL YOU BE OPENING EMBASSIES IN THE NEWLY RECOGNIZED COUNTRIES?

A: OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW WILL FUNCTION AS OUR EMBASSY TO RUSSIA, AND OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN KIEV WILL BECOME OUR EMBASSY TO UKRAINE.

WE HAVE HAD PLANS FOR SOME TIME TO ESTABLISH POSTS IN ALMA-ATA, YEREVAN, AND MENSK. WE INTEND TO HAVE

THESE EMBASSIES FUNCTIONING BEFORE THE END OF THIS FISCAL YEAR, AND WE WILL OPEN A POST IN BISHKEK AS

SOON AS RESOURCES PERMIT. WE WILL BE WORKING WITH CONGRESS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PLAN.

Q: WHAT STAGE ARE WE AT WITH REGARDS TO NOMINATING AMBASSADORS/STAFFS?

A: WE ARE REVIEWING STAFFING QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE OPENING OF THE NEW POSTS.

Q: WILL AMBASSADOR STRAUSS, FOR THE TIME BEING, CONTINUE AS AMBASSADOR TO ALL THE NEW COUNTRIES OR JUST RUSSIA?

A: AMBASSADOR STRAUSS WILL SERVE AS AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA. WE ARE WORKING TO NOMINATE AMBASSADORS TO THE OTHER REPUBLICS WITH WHICH WE ARE ESTABLISHING FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. OUR CONSUL GENERAL IN KIEV WILL SERVE AS CHARGE UNTIL AN AMBASSADOR TO UKRAINE IS NAMED. FOR THE OTHER COUNTRIES, FOR THE TIME BEING, WE WILL RELY ON AMBASSADOR STRAUSS AND HIS STAFF TO MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH THESE GOVERNMENTS UNTIL PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS ARE DECIDED UPON.

Q: WILL THE REPUBLICS WITH WHICH WE DID NOT ESTABLISH FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BE ABLE TO SEND DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES TO THE U.S.?

A: YES. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS WE HAVE RECEIVED MANY VISITS FROM OFFICIALS OF THESE GOVERNMENTS AND HAVE CONDUCTED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. THIS WILL CONTINUE DESPITE THE ABSENCE OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

(IF ASKED) A PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE IN THE U.S. BY THESE STATES WILL REQUIRE THE CONSENT OF BOTH SIDES.

Q: THROUGH WHAT CHANNEL WILL YOU DO BUSINESS WITH THE REPUBLICS WITH WHICH WE DO NOT HAVE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS?

A: DURING A TRANSITION PERIOD, WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THESE GOVERNMENTS THROUGH AMBASSADOR STRAUSS AND HIS STAFF.

WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO RECEIVE OFFICIAL VISITORS IN WASHINGTON FROM THESE STATES.

Q: DOES THE US RECOGNIZE RUSSIA AS THE SUCCESSOR STATE TO THE USSR?

A: RUSSIA AS WELL AS THE OTHER REPUBLICS WILL CONTINUE THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. THERE ARE MANY ISSUES THAT WE WILL WANT TO CLARIFY WITH RUSSIA AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS.

IN ANY CASE, WE ARE PREPARED TO BUILD A CONSTRUCTIVE AND CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS IN ALL AREAS.

Q: ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE ASSURANCES YOU HAVE RECEIVED ON SECURITY MATTERS?

A: AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN HIS CHRISTMAS ANNOUNCEMENT, WE CONGRATULATE THE NEW STATES OF THE COMMONWEALTH ON THE PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC PATH THEY HAVE CHOSEN, AND FOR THEIR CAREFUL ATTENTION TO NUCLEAR CONTROL AND SAFETY DURING THIS TRANSITION.

THE PRESIDENT MENTIONED IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE DECEMBER 26 THAT HE HAS RECEIVED PROPER ASSURANCES FROM YELTSIN, GORBACHEV, AND ALL THE REPUBLIC LEADERS INVOLVED AND SEES NO REASON TO BE ANYTHING BUT SATISFIED ON THIS POINT.

Q: WILL THE US SUPPORT CSCE MEMBERSHIP FOR THE NEW STATES?

A: WE BELIEVE IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE CSCE STANDARDS BE ADOPTED AND ADHERED TO THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE AREA OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION.

WE WILL BE WORKING WITH OUR CSCE PARTNERS TO ENSURE THAT APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS ARE DEVELOPED FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF THESE NEW STATES WHO ARE PREPARED TO CONDUCT THEIR AFFAIRS IN FULL CONFORMANCE WITH CSCE NORMS AND PRINCIPLES.

Q: WILL THE LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS ON THE SOVIET UNION APPLY TO THE NEW COUNTRIES? TO RUSSIA? (FYI: THESE RESTRICTIONS INCLUDE SUCH ISSUES AS EXIM CREDIT TO SOVIET UNION, ACQUISITION OF NEW FACILITIES, COMPENSATION FOR EMBASSY BUGGING, USE OF CONSULATE BUILDINGS IN NEW YORK, ETC.)

A: WE WILL NEED TO REVIEW THESE PROVISIONS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS AND, AS APPROPRIATE, CONSULT WITH CONGRESS.

Q: THERE WERE MANY "SECURITY RELATED" RESTRICTIONS APPLIED TO SOVIET DIPLOMATS (TRAVEL CONTROLS, LIMITS ON NUMBER OF PERSONNEL, ETC.). WILL RUSSIA AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS BE SUBJECT TO THESE RESTRICTIONS?

A: WE ARE EXAMINING THESE ISSUES CLOSELY AND WILL ADDRESS THEM AS WE DEVELOP BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS. FOR NOW, THEY WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS

Q: WHO IS THE CO-SPONSOR OF THE MULTILATERAL MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS NOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION NO LONGER EXISTS?

A: THE CO-SPONSOR OF THE PEACE TALKS IS THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

Q: WILL THE MULTILATERALS STILL BE HELD IN MOSCOW?

A: AS THE SECRETARY SAID DECEMBER 19, WE HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE VENUE. WE ANTICIPATE THAT THOSE TALKS WILL TAKE PLACE THE 28TH AND 29TH OF JANUARY IN MOSCOW.

RUSSIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Q: WHEN WILL THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION FORMALLY ASSUME THE FORMER USSR'S SEATS IN THE UN, INCLUDING ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL?

A: PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S LETTER INFORMING THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL THAT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE USSR IN THE UN WILL BE CONTINUED BY THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION WAS TRANSMITTED TO THE UN SECRETARIAT ON DECEMBER 14. YELTSIN'S LETTER HAS BEEN CIRCULATED TO MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AS WELL AS TO OTHER ORGANS AND ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UN SYSTEM. AS STATED BY THE PRESIDENT THE U.S. SUPPORTS RUSSIA'S CONTINUATION IN THE FORMER USSR'S UN SEATS.

AS RUSSIA WILL OCCUPY THE SEATS OF THE FORMER USSR AS A CONTINUATION OF THE USSR, IT IS OUR VIEW THAT NO FURTHER UN ACTION IS NECESSARY FOR RUSSIA TO OCCUPY THOSE SEATS. CERTAIN PRACTICAL STEPS MAY BE REQUIRED TO GIVE EFFECT WITH THESE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UN SYSTEM.

Q: CAN A CHALLENGE BE MADE TO RUSSIA'S ASSUMPTION OF THE USSR'S UN SEAT?

A: THEORETICALLY, THERE COULD BE SUCH A CHALLENGE. HOWEVER, SINCE CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP BY RUSSIA OF THE USSR'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN IS SUPPORTED BY THE STATES OF THE COMMONWEALTH, WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY CHALLENGE.

(FYI: GENERALLY, UNDER UN PRACTICE CHALLENGES TO THE CREDENTIALS OF A STATE ARE RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE NOTE THAT THE FORTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADJOURNED DECEMBER 20.)

Q: WILL THE UNITED STATES SUPPORT ALL THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS FOR UN MEMBERSHIP?

A: THE PRESIDENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT UN MEMBERSHIP FOR ARMENIA, KAZAKHSTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN. BELARUS AND UKRAINE ARE ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE UN. WE LOOK FORWARD TO APPLICATIONS FOR UN MEMBERSHIP BY THE OTHER REPUBLICS NOT CURRENTLY MEMBERS, CONSISTENT WITH U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY OF UN MEMBERSHIP.

Q: HOW DOES A STATE BECOME A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

A: ANY STATE THAT WISHES TO JOIN THE UNITED NATIONS MUST MAKE AN APPLICATION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WHO PASSES THE APPLICATION ON TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN TURN MUST DECIDE WHETHER TO RECOMMEND THE STATE'S MEMBERSHIP TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY MUST THEN ACCEPT THE STATE FOR MEMBERSHIP BY A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY.

WE NOTE THAT IN ORDER TO BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS AN APPLICANT MUST BE A STATE, BE PEACE-LOVING, ACCEPT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE CHARTER, BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS, AND BE WILLING TO DO SO.

Q: HOW QUICKLY CAN THE UN ACT ON AN APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP?

A: AFTER THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS RECOMMENDED A STATE FOR MEMBERSHIP THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY MUST TAKE ACTION AT ITS NEXT SESSION.

TREATIES WITH THE FORMER USSR

Q: WILL THE REPUBLICS ABIDE BY THE TREATIES THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD MADE WITH THE U.S. AND OTHER COUNTRIES, AND WILL WE CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY THOSE TREATIES NOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION NO LONGER EXISTS?

A: WE EXPECT THE REPUBLICS TO FULFILL THE TREATY OBLIGATIONS OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION.

THE ALMA ATA DECLARATION SIGNED DECEMBER 21 CONTAINS A SPECIFIC STATEMENT BY THE MEMBER STATES OF THE NEW COMMONWEALTH GUARANTEEING "FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS STEMMING FROM THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE FORMER USSR."

WE TOO WILL CONTINUE TO FULFILL OUR TREATY OBLIGATIONS.

IN SOME CASES, IT WILL NOT MAKE SENSE TO HAVE EACH REPUBLIC ASSUME THE OBLIGATIONS OF A TREATY OR AGREEMENT. THIS WOULD BE THE CASE, FOR EXAMPLE WHERE APPLICATION OF A TREATY TO A PARTICULAR REPUBLIC WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE TREATY'S "OBJECT AND PURPOSE." THUS, A TREATY OR AGREEMENT

RELATING SPECIFICALLY TO ACTIVITY IN ONLY ONE
REPUBLIC WOULD NOT BE APPLICABLE TO THE OTHER
ELEVEN. WE WILL NEED TO WORK OUT DETAILS SUCH AS
THESE WITH THE NEW REPUBLICS.

END TEXT OF Q-AND-A.

13. BEGIN TEXT OF DECEMBER 25 PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.

GOOD EVENING AND MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL AMERICANS ACROSS
OUR GREAT COUNTRY. DURING THESE LAST FEW MONTHS, YOU AND
I HAVE WITNESSED ONE OF THE GREATEST DRAMAS OF THE 20TH
CENTURY--THE HISTORIC AND REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION OF
A TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE
LIBERATION OF ITS PEOPLES. AS WE CELEBRATE CHRISTMAS
THIS DAY OF PEACE AND HOPE, I THOUGHT WE SHOULD TAKE JUST
A FEW MINUTES TO REFLECT ON WHAT THESE EVENTS MEAN FOR US
AS AMERICANS.

FOR OVER 40 YEARS, THE UNITED STATES LED THE WEST IN THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM AND THE THREAT IT POSED TO OUR
MOST PRECIOUS VALUES. THIS STRUGGLE SHAPED THE LIVES OF
ALL AMERICANS. IT FORCED ALL NATIONS TO LIVE UNDER THE
SPECTER OF NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION. THAT CONFRONTATION IS NOW
OVER. THE NUCLEAR THREAT, WHILE FAR FROM GONE, IS
RECEDING. EASTERN EUROPE IS FREE. THE SOVIET UNION
ITSELF IS NO MORE.

THIS IS A VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM. IT'S A
VICTORY FOR THE MORAL FORCE OF OUR VALUES. EVERY AMERICAN
CAN TAKE PRIDE IN THIS VICTORY, FROM THE MILLIONS OF MEN
AND WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED OUR COUNTRY IN UNIFORM TO
MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO SUPPORTED THEIR COUNTRY AND A
STRONG DEFENSE UNDER NINE PRESIDENTS.

NEW, INDEPENDENT NATIONS HAVE EMERGED OUT OF THE WRECKAGE
OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE. LAST WEEKEND, THESE FORMER
REPUBLICS FORMED A COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES.

THIS ACT MARKS THE END OF THE OLD SOVIET UNION, SIGNIFIED
TODAY BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S DECISION TO RESIGN AS
PRESIDENT.

I'D LIKE TO EXPRESS ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MY
GRATITUDE TO MIKHAIL GORBACHEV FOR YEARS OF SUSTAINED
COMMITMENT TO WORLD PEACE AND FOR HIS INTELLECT, VISION
AND COURAGE. I SPOKE WITH MIKHAIL GORBACHEV THIS
MORNING. WE REVIEWED THE MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE LAST
FEW YEARS AND SPOKE OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE. MIKHAIL
GORBACHEV'S REVOLUTIONARY POLICIES TRANSFORMED THE SOVIET
UNION.

HIS POLICIES PERMITTED THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA AND THE OTHER
REPUBLICS TO CAST ASIDE DECADES OF OPPRESSION AND
ESTABLISH THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM. HIS LEGACY
GUARANTEES HIM AN HONORED PLACE IN HISTORY AND PROVIDES A

SOLID BASIS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO WORK IN EQUALLY
CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS WITH HIS SUCCESSORS.

THE UNITED STATES APPLAUDS AND SUPPORTS THE HISTORIC
CHOICE FOR FREEDOM BY THE NEW STATES OF THE COMMONWEALTH.
WE CONGRATULATE THEM ON THE PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC PATH
THEY HAVE CHOSEN, AND FOR THEIR CAREFUL ATTENTION TO
NUCLEAR CONTROL AND SAFETY DURING THIS TRANSITION.

DESPITE A POTENTIAL FOR INSTABILITY AND CHAOS, THESE
EVENTS CLEARLY SERVE OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS.

WE STAND TONIGHT BEFORE A NEW WORLD OF HOPE AND
POSSIBILITIES FOR OUR CHILDREN, A WORLD WE COULD NOT HAVE
CONTEMPLATED A FEW YEARS AGO.

THE CHALLENGE FOR US NOW IS TO ENGAGE THESE NEW STATES IN
SUSTAINING THE PEACE AND BUILDING A MORE PROSPEROUS FUTURE.

AND SO TODAY, BASED ON COMMITMENTS AND ASSURANCES GIVEN TO
US BY SOME OF THESE STATES CONCERNING NUCLEAR SAFETY,

DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS, I AM ANNOUNCING SOME IMPORTANT STEPS DESIGNED TO BEGIN THIS PROCESS.

FIRST THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES AND WELCOMES THE EMERGENCY OF A FREE, INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA LED BY ITS COURAGEOUS PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN. OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW WILL REMAIN THERE AS OUR EMBASSY TO RUSSIA. WE WILL SUPPORT RUSSIA'S ASSUMPTION OF THE USSR'S SEAT AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN SUPPORT OF HIS EFFORTS TO BRING DEMOCRATIC AND MARKET REFORM TO RUSSIA.

SECOND, THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECOGNIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE, ARMENIA, KAZAKHSTAN, BYELARUS AND KYRGYZSTAN, ALL STATES THAT HAVE MADE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS TO US. WE WILL MOVE QUICKLY TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THESE STATES AND BUILD NEW TIES TO THEM. WE WILL SPONSOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THOSE NOT ALREADY MEMBERS.

THIRD THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECOGNIZES TODAY AS INDEPENDENT STATES THE REMAINING SIX FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--MOLDOVA, TURKMENISTAN, AZERBAIJAN, TAJIKISTAN, GEORGIA AND UZBEKISTAN. WE WILL ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THEM WHEN WE ARE SATISFIED THAT THEY HAVE

MADE COMMITMENTS TO RESPONSIBLE SECURITY POLICIES AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, AS HAVE THE OTHER STATES WE RECOGNIZED TODAY.

THESE DRAMATIC EVENTS COME AT A TIME WHEN AMERICANS ARE ALSO FACING CHALLENGES HERE AT HOME. I KNOW THAT FOR MANY OF YOU THESE ARE DIFFICULT TIMES, AND I WANT ALL AMERICANS TO KNOW THAT I AM COMMITTED TO ATTACKING OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT HOME WITH THE SAME DETERMINATION WE BROUGHT TO WINNING THE COLD WAR. I AM CONFIDENT WE WILL MEET THIS CHALLENGE AS WE HAVE SO MANY TIMES BEFORE, BUT WE CANNOT IF WE RETREAT INTO ISOLATIONISM. WE WILL ONLY SUCCEED IN THIS INTERCONNECTED WORLD BY CONTINUING TO LEAD THE FIGHT FOR FREE PEOPLE AND FREE AND FAIR TRADE. A FREE AND PROSPEROUS GLOBAL ECONOMY IS ESSENTIAL FOR AMERICA'S PROSPERITY. THAT MEANS JOBS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH RIGHT HERE AT HOME.

THIS IS A DAY OF GREAT HOPE FOR ALL AMERICANS. OUR ENEMIES HAE BECOME OUR PARTNERS, COMMITTED TO BUILDING DEMOCRATIC AND CIVIL SOCIETIES. THEY ASK FOR OUR SUPPORT, AND WE WILL GIVE IT TO THEM. WE WILL DO IT BECAUSE AS AMERICANS WE CAN DO NO LESS. FOR OUR CHILDREN. WE MUST OFFER THEM THE GUARANTEE OF A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE A FUTURE GROUNDED IN A WORLD BUILT ON STRONG DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, FREE FROM THE SPECTER OF GLOBAL CONFLICT.

MAY GOD BLESS THE PEOPLE OF THE NEW NATIONS IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES. AND, ON THIS SPECIAL DAY OF PEACE ON EARTH, GOODWILL TOWARD MEN, MAY GOD CONTINUE TO BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. GOOD NIGHT.

END TEXT OF DECEMBER 25 PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.

14. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S FAREWELL STATEMENT TO GORBACHEV.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S RESIGNATION AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION CULMINATES A REMARKABLE ERA IN THE HISTORY OF HIS COUNTRY AND IN ITS LONG AND OFTEN DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. AS HE LEAVES OFFICE, I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY, AND ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, MY GRATITUDE TO HIM FOR YEARS OF SUSTAINED COMMITMENT TO WORLD PEACE, AND MY PERSONAL RESPECT FOR HIS INTELLECT, VISION AND COURAGE.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS OF THIS CENTURY--THE REVOLUTIONARY

TRANSFORMATION OF A TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND THE LIBERATION OF HIS PEOPLE FROM ITS SMOTHERING EMBRACE. HIS PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC REFORM THROUGH PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST--A COMMITMENT WHICH DEMANDED THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF POLITICAL AND PERSONAL INGENUITY AND COURAGE--PERMITTED THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA AND OTHER REPUBLICS TO CAST ASIDE DECADES OF DARK OPPRESSION AND PUT IN PLACE THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM.

WORKING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN, MYSELF AND OTHER ALLIED LEADERS, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV ACTED BOLDLY AND DECISIVELY TO END THE BITTER DIVISIONS OF THE COLD WAR AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE REMAKING OF A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. HIS AND FOREIGN MINISTER EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE'S "NEW THINKING" IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERMITTED THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO MOVE FROM CONFRONTATION TO PARTNERSHIP IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE ACROSS THE GLOBE. TOGETHER WE NEGOTIATED HISTORIC REDUCTIONS IN CHEMICAL, NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND REDUCED THE RISK OF A NUCLEAR CONFLICT.

WORKING TOGETHER, WE HELPED THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE WIN THEIR LIBERTY AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE THEIR GOAL OF UNITY IN PEACE AND FREEDOM. OUR PARTNERSHIP LED TO UNPRECEDENTED COOPERATION IN REPELLING IRAQI AGGRESSION IN KUWAIT, IN BRINGING PEACE TO NICARAGUA AND CAMBODIA AND INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA. AND OUR WORK CONTINUES AS WE SEEK A LASTING AND JUST PEACE BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND ARABS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AN END TO THE CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S PARTICIPATION IN THESE HISTORIC EVENTS IS HIS LEGACY TO HIS COUNTRY AND TO THE WORLD. THIS RECORD ASSURES HIM AN HONORED PLACE IN HISTORY AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY FOR THE FUTURE, ESTABLISHES A SOLID BASIS FROM WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST CAN WORK IN EQUALLY CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS WITH HIS SUCCESSORS.

END TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S FAREWELL STATEMENT TO GORBACHEV.

KANTER